

WOMEN'S FORUM ON NATIONAL SECURITY

REMARKS BY ALLEN W. DULLES, DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 1954

Mrs. Schill, Mrs. Burdett, and members of the Women's Forum on National Security:

I appreciate very much the opportunity to meet with you today. In coming here I am breaking a self-imposed rule. As the Director of Central Intelligence I seek anonymity -- not publicity -- for myself and for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Every rule has its exception. The work of your Forum on National Security bears so intimately on many phases of my own work that I am very glad to have this chance to discuss with you some of the dangers to our national security -- dangers which some of us may not sense because they are cleverly disguised.

It is the job of the Central Intelligence Agency to garner together the facts affecting our national security as best we can find them and then to lay them before the policymakers; the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, who addressed you last night, and the other members of the National Security Council as they may be directly concerned. They in turn decide what to do about these facts.

Among the "facts" which CIA has been uncovering is information on the techniques which subversive Communism employs to weaken the free world. I want to talk to you about this this afternoon. These techniques fall geographically into two main categories -- the domestic and the foreign --

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those subversive communistic actions which we have to meet right here at home and those that chiefly affect our Allies and friends in the Free World. And as they affect them, they in turn have an impact on our own security position.

The work of the Central Intelligence Agency in this general field relates exclusively to what is being done abroad. Within the United States the chief agency that deals with this problem is, of course, the FBI.

Here at home we are becoming increasingly aware of the dangers of subversive Communism. It is no longer coddled and tolerated. We are fortunate to have in the Federal Bureau of Investigation Mr. J. Edgar Hoover with his great experience and high technical skill. He has been able to make a real contribution, particularly by exposing to the light of day the various organizations and fronts under which Communists are masquerading.

You will recall that the Attorney General has published a list of some 200 organizations here in the United States with high sounding names and titles which are nothing more than subversive Communist fronts, in most cases. You will also recall that the President in his recent speech at the opening of the Congress suggested certain additional measures for dealing with the problem of subversion.

Now while we still have no right to be complacent about the domestic situation here at home, a far graver situation faces many of the countries of the Free World. Some have yet to appreciate the real meaning of Communism or to take adequate measures against it in their own countries. As a result, this problem of Communist subversion is an even more dangerous threat to freedom in many of the free countries of the world outside of the United States than it is here at home.

There are cogent reasons for this. Many of the countries of the Free World and some of those which slipped behind the Iron Curtain, suffered more grievously than we from the two world wars which we have faced in the last 30 years. Many were devastated by bombing attacks. Some suffered enemy occupations. Others in turn had their social structure and their economic life weakened and imperiled. Take China, for example. In World War II China did not have merely five years of war. It was at war for almost 10 years before the Armistice of 1945. That is one reason why so much of China is now behind the Iron or the Bamboo Curtain.

Then also, particularly in Asia, many countries are trying to exercise their newly won independence under conditions which would tax the strength of the most mature democracies. And in the process they have to resist the luring appeals of the Communists with their seemingly easy and utopian solutions for all the social and governmental problems.

There is another reason why many of these countries abroad are more deeply affected than we. They are nearer to the heart of the Communist subversive machine with its headquarters in Moscow and with its branch offices throughout the Communist world in such places as Warsaw, Prague, Bucharest, Peiping, in the Soviet zones of Berlin and Vienna, and on the frontiers of Indo-China and Burma. Land frontiers are somewhat more easily crossed and infiltrated with Communist agents and propaganda than great stretches of ocean, that still give us some protection.

Finally in many of the free countries of the world, particularly in Europe and in parts of Asia, there are well-organized Communist Parties. These parties take a very active part in the political life of the country. They are recognized and privileged and yet are dedicated to installing a system in which political parties cease to exist. A hard core of well-trained fanatical Communists direct the activities of these Communist parties.

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I recognize that in these Communist Parties, particularly in Italy and France, there are many people who would be shocked if they were told that the party to which they belonged was run from Moscow and in the interest of a foreign creed. Nevertheless this is the fact.

These Communist Parties oppose every constructive measure that is introduced, particularly laws which would build up the economic and political life of the country. They are working for chaos out of which revolution may come. In the French Parliament, over the past seven or eight years since the liberation, there have been an average of well over 100 Communists out of about 600 deputies. In Italy the proportionate number of Communists in their legislative body is even larger.

Just for a moment think what would happen in our own Congress if we had a hundred members whose task was obstruction, the endless prolonging of debate, proposing of amendments at every turn, and insisting on days of discussion for all of these amendments. How much constructive work would we then accomplish? Those who criticize the parliaments of other countries like France and Italy should realize that as long as they have this large Communist representation it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for these bodies to meet the needs of representative government and to carry on the processes of governing, as we understand it.

The practical situation is this: The Communists take advantage of all of the privileges and rights which are a part of the system of free government in the Free World, and they abuse these privileges in order to destroy freedom itself.

These are some of the reasons why the Communists abroad have weapons at their command which are more effective than those that they try to use in

this country where there is no effectively organized Communist party. Here in the United States measures have been taken to deprive them of their respectability and here, also, they are numerically too weak to invade our legislative bodies.

In addition to their political parties the Communists have other and even more subtle weapons. In some cases they have built up a series of blinds -- camouflaged organizations; -- in others they have penetrated and captured from within a whole series of existing organizations many of which originally had a reputation for respectability. Through these front organizations they carry out their well-known policy: subvert the weak -- divide the strong. They hide their affiliation with Moscow while carrying on the Communist theme.

Right at the beginning of the Soviet Revolution back in 1917, Lenin gave the key to approved Communist procedure. He said that "the Party must take every advantage of even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally even though this ally be only temporary, vacillating, unstable, and unreliable." And he added, "Those who do not understand this do not understand Marxism."

Over the years since Lenin said this Soviet technique has shown vast improvement, and they have developed mass media for propagating their ideas which far exceed the modest beginnings that Lenin advocated.

Here are some of the other Communist front organizations:

The World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the International Organization of Journalists, the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the World Peace Council, and the Women's International Democratic Federation. These are only a few. These are some of the most important.

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Let us take first of all the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Its headquarters are in the Soviet sector of Vienna. It has offices in Peiping, in Latin America, and in Africa as well as in Western Europe. It still controls the CGT, most powerful in France, and the CUIL, most powerful in Italy, as well as many other unions in countries as far distant as Indonesia, for example.

The two unions I mentioned in France and Italy are the largest trade unions in these respective countries, and they tend to dominate the life of the workers in many plants in these countries. They are a formidable threat to the freedom and the development of the free trade union movements in both France and Italy.

The Communist World Federation of Trade Unions claims a total membership of some 70 million. These figures are always exaggerated by them. One-half of the membership, they claim, lies outside the Iron Curtain dispersed through some 57 countries of the non-Communist world. In many countries they control the most important of the trade unions. Of course behind the "Curtain" there are no free trade unions whatever.

Now here is another of these Communist fronts, the World Peace Council. You will recall the so-called Stockholm peace appeal which was signed by more than 2 million Americans. This appeal was organized and fronted by the Communist World Peace Council of Moscow.

Here are some of the seemingly innocent objectives of the World Peace Council as stated at its last meeting in Vienna in December of 1952. It voted to acquaint the churches throughout the world with its stand on disarmament and to seek their approval. It proposed to develop contact with

movements in favor of neutrality in different countries and to find ways of cooperating with pacifist movements; and finally it agreed on the importance of enlisting the support of national independence movements and patriotic sentiments in countries such as Egypt.

Now this all sounds innocent enough. It deceives a large number of good citizens even in this country. Yet this Council is nothing but a Communist plot, spearheaded from Moscow, a part of a system dedicated to aims which are diametrically opposed to the purposes they advertise. In fact the World Peace Council is an instrument to pave the way for aggressive war--in Korea, Indo-China, and elsewhere.

Now all of these activities cost money. It is estimated that the last meeting of the World Peace Council in Vienna, alone, cost about a half a million dollars. It is rather interesting that the funds for the support of this Congress were drawn from the "Soviet Military Bank" in Vienna. In fact, all of these front organizations are financed with funds from Moscow or funds that are obtained from affiliated Communist organizations in other parts of the Soviet World.

We estimate, and this shows the weight they put on these organizations, that the average annual expenditure of International Communism on all of their front organizations and their various affiliated activities runs in the neighborhood of 2 billion dollars. They appreciate the value of these propagandist movements and organizations, and they are willing to pay dearly for them.

International Communism particularly appreciates the importance of working with the youth, and for this purpose they have two important organizations--the International Union of Students and the World Federation of

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Democratic Youth. These include millions of members from 71 countries-- they claim some 80 millions. They have frequent rallies, the most important of which took place in Berlin in August of 1951. It was a colossal affair, labeled "A Youth Festival for Peace." Over a million German youths were transported to Berlin at the expense of their Communist patrons. In addition 25,000 foreign youths were brought to Berlin from all corners of the world. Of course, the entire bill was footed by the Communist governments of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The cost ran into the millions of dollars.

Fortunately for us this Berlin Rally had some unpleasant kickbacks for the Communist side. Almost a million of the Communist youths visited the Free Western Sector of Berlin. Probably they went there to jeer but they stayed to wonder. Many of them wanted to stay permanently. They there saw the sights of the free city of Western Berlin.

One of the most impressive sights they saw was the American High Commissioner himself, John J. McCloy. He invited representatives of these youths to visit his office, sought and freely answered their questions candidly and fully. Words of this extraordinary scene spread through the entire Youth Festival and was an impressive contrast to Communist techniques of preventing a free discussion among the youths at their own rally.

Another front organization that I mentioned before is the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. This is one of the few organizations which has its headquarters outside the Iron Curtain and has found fellow travelers in England and France respectively to act as the President and Vice-President of the organization. This lawyers association, I regret to say, being a lawyer, has been used by the Communists to front for their false charges of bacteriological warfare in the Korean War and helped stage the phoney investigation which was made of these now wholly discredited charges.

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Naturally the Soviet have not overlooked the vast importance of women's organizations in the field of propaganda. Here they have organized the Women's International Democratic Federation. Its charter is a broad one. It pretends to stand for the eradication of Fascism; collaboration for peace; defense of the political, economic, legal, and social rights of women; the safeguarding of public health with particular reference to children; and the preservation of social conditions suitable to the physical, moral, and intellectual development of the young.

In all its history, however, this particular "front" has never deviated in any respect from the Communist line. At its meeting in Vienna in April of 1952 it came out strongly against "American warmongers." Its monthly bulletin, "Women of the World," is largely devoted to the Communist peace campaign.

It is estimated that it must cost the Communists some 6 million dollars a year to run the Women's International Federation and to send its representation from 40 different countries to these various international meetings. It is interesting to contrast this expenditure with the fact that the Soviet has not to this date contributed a penny to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

I have described only a few of the score of organizations, which are subtly working to spread the Communist doctrines. This will give you some idea of the methods which International Communism is employing, the broad coverage they are giving to their propaganda, and the tremendous financial and organizational effort they are expending to undermine the basis of our free society.

What I have given you is by no means an exhaustive review of the tools the Communists use to delude and deceive the non-Communist world. However,

this may give you an idea of their methods. Each situation, often each country, means for them the employment of a new technique or of a specially adapted form of deception.

In my opinion the facts I have given you should not be kept secret. They should be spread abroad. Naturally the Communists do all they can to conceal their connections with these front organizations. They should not be allowed to get away with this hoax and deception any longer. Since they get little local or popular financial support, it is obvious that someone with an ample pocketbook of governmental proportions must serve as the "angel" to keep them going.

Why do they do all this? It is not just propaganda for propaganda's sake; it is the Communist method of reaching out to condition and then control the minds of those who will not buy Communism in the raw. It serves as a measure to neutralize those they cannot quickly make into direct allies.

We all want peace and the reduction of armaments, the extension of benefits to the underprivileged, and an end to old-fashioned colonialism and the like. The Communists are playing the rather unique game of denying these principles everywhere in the sphere of their control and at the same time deluding people elsewhere into believing that they, the Communists, are the real defenders of these principles in the free countries of the world.

These techniques I have described are used as the softening process to prepare for the day when the Communists hope to be ready for the "take-over." Not so long ago we saw it happen in Czechoslovakia. Not a shot was fired but liberty was destroyed overnight. The softening process had prepared the ground. Each Communist then was in his appointed place, each person who had been neutralized by propaganda and deception kept quiet. There was no fight for freedom.

Today it is not the open Communist, the admitted follower of Marx and Lenin, who is likely to trip us up. It is the neutralist, the soft thinkers about agrarian reformers; those who merely decry the methods, but are blind to the aims, of international Communism.

To prepare to meet this danger we are putting our house in order here in the United States. We cannot decide the policy for those in other countries of the world. We can help to unmask the Communist danger. Furthermore we can give one example of a free people who are frustrating the Communist programs while keeping our own freedoms here.

To carry out our task in the CIA as fact finders and to keep our government policy-makers advised of what the Communists are doing outside of the United States, we have gathered together in the Central Intelligence Agency an able staff. On this staff representative women from all parts of the United States are serving. I wish to pay my tribute to their effective role in the work of the Central Intelligence Agency in this country and abroad.